

Message Text

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ACTION ARA-10

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 PM-03 DODE-00 NSC-07 NSCE-00

SSO-00 INRE-00 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 RSC-01 L-02

PRS-01 IO-03 EB-03 DRC-01 /056 W

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O P 031350Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY SAN SALVADOR

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5614

INFO AMEMBASSY GUATEMALA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MANAGUA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SAN JOSE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEGUCIGALPA PRIORITY

USCINCSO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 2192

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652 - GDS

TAGS: PFOR, ES, HO

SUBJECT: HONDURAS/SALVADOR DEBATE: FONMIN VIEWS ON POSTPONEMENT
OF CA SUMMIT

REF: A) STATE114662; B) SAN SALVADOR 2190;

GUATEMALA ALSO PASS ROCAP

1. SUMMARY FONMIN BORGONOVO MAY 31 GAVE US BLOW BY BLOW DESCRIPTION
OF THE STEPS THAT LED TO THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE MAY 29 SUMMIT.
HIS VERSION IS AT VARIANCE IN ITS ESSENTIALS WITH THE DETAILS AND
IMPRESSIONS CONVEYED BY AMBASSADOR BETRAND TO DEPARTMENT IN HIS
COMMENTS MAY 29. END SUMMARY.

2. AMBASSADOR BETRAND'S VERSION OF THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE CA
SUMMIT AND HIS REQUEST FOR US SUPPORT (REF A) LEAVE US PUZZLED IN
VIEW OF THE LONG AND CANDID CONVERSATION DCM MOSKOWITZ AND
I HELD WITH BORGONOVO ON THIS VERY SUBJECT MAY 31. (BORGONOVO
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RETURNED TO SAN SALVADOR LATE MAY 28 BUT DID NOT COME TO THIS

OFFICE UNTIL MAY 30.)

3. DESCRIBING THE BACKGROUND OF THE SUMMIT, BORGONOVO SAID THAT HE BECAME INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR ANY POSITIVE ACCOMPLISHMENTS AS MAY 29 APPROACHED IN VIEW OF THE LACK OF ANY FORWARD MOVEMENT ON THE HONDURAS/SALVADOR ISSUE SINCE THE MEXICO TALKS WERE SUSPENDED IN DECEMBER. HE WAS CONCERNED TOO THAT PRESIDENT ODUBER IN PUBLICIZING THE CONFERENCE WAS ESCALATING UNWARRANTED EXPECTATION THAT SOME REAL PROGRESS WOULD BE MADE. IN RESPONSE TO HIS CONCERN, PRESIDENT MOLINA IN MID-MAY DISPATCHED FONOFF ADVISERS TRIGUEROS AND RODRIGUEZ PORT THE THE NEUTRAL THREE TO EXPLORE THE PROSPECTS FOR THE MEETING, AND IN AN ATTEMPT TO SELL IDEA THAT A FINAL COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE NEGOTIATED BEFORE HAND ABOUT THE HONDURAS/SALVADOR AND CACM QUESTIONS. THE TWO REPORTED BACK THAT PRESIDENT ODUBER REMAINED ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE SUMMIT AND BELIEVED THE CA'S SHOULD PUSH AHEAD, THAT GENERAL SOMOZA INSISTED STRONGLY THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO HOLD THE MEETING AS SCHEDULED NOTWITHSTANDING THE LACK OF PRIOR AGREEMENT (HE FAVORED A NEGOTIATED FINAL COMMUNIQUE HOWEVER) AND THAT PRESIDENT ARANA BELIEVED THE SUMMIT SHOULD BE HELD ONLY IF MEANINGFUL RESULTS WERE LIKELY; ARANA HAD NO INTEREST IN A MEETING FOR ITS OWN SAKE.

4. THE EXPLORATORY MISSIONS CONFIRMED BORGONOVO'S CONCERN THAT A SUMMIT HELD WITHOUT ADEQUATE PREPARATION WOULD LEAVE SALVADOR VULNERABLE TO THE HOST GOVERNMENT'S DESCRIPTION OF WHAT HAD OR HAD NOT TRANSPIRED AND SALVADOR COULD BE BLAMED PUBLICLY IF THE CONFERENCE FAILED TO ACHIEVE AGREEMENT. THUS, BORGONOVO SAID HE DRAFTED A PROPOSED FINAL COMMUNIQUE WHICH CONCENTRATED ON THE HONDURAS/EL SALVADOR QUESTION AND THE BORDER ISSUE AND SENT IT TO SOMOZA. (BORGONOVO DID NOT DETAIL THE CONTENTS OF HIS ORIGINAL DRAFT TO US.) SOMOZA TOOK IT TO HONDURAS MAY 23 AND THE HONDURANS PROPOSED CERTAIN UNSPECIFIED CMANGES. ON MAY 26 SOMOZA RETURNED TO SAN SALVADOR WITH THE HONDURAN COUNTERPROPOSAL AND SPENT NINE HOURS AT THE FAS HEADQUARTERS DISCUSSING IT WITH THE SALVADORANS. THE SALVADORANS REWORKED THE DRAFT WHICH, ACCORDING TO BORGONOVO, NICARAGUAN FINANCE MINISTER MONTIEL (FOR WHOM BORGONOVO HAS CONSIDERABLE RESPECT) ALLEGEDLY FOUND EQUITABLE AND REASONABLE. ON MAY 27, SOMOZA RETURNED TO HONDURAS AND THE HONDURANS REJECTED THE LAST VERSION PROPOSED BY EL SALVADOR.

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5. BORGONOVO SAID THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS BROKE DOWN ON THE ISSUE OF HOW BORDER DELINEATION WAS TO BE TREATED. HONDURAS WANTED THE STATEMENT TO SHOW THAT THE TWO PARTIES HAD AGREED TO FOCUS ON THE FIVE BORDER AREAS WHERE NO AGREEMENT HAD YET BEEN REACHED. SALVADOR INSISTED THAT IT STATE THAT THE TWO HAD AGREED THAT THE ENTIRE BORDER WAS TO BE DELINEATED. BORGONOVO CONTENTED THAT HAD SALVADOR AGREED TO THE HONDURAN APPROACH IT WOULD HAVE ACCEDED TO THE HONDURAN POSITION, GAINING NOTHING

IN RETURN. IN EFFECT, ACCORDING TO THE FONMIN, BY LIMITING DISCUSSIONS TO THE FIVE AREAS IN DISPUTE, SALVADOR WOULD APPEAR TO BE GIVING UP ANY OF ITS OWN CLAIMS AT OTHER POINTS ON THE BORDER AND WOULD BE NEGOTIATING ONLY HONDURAN CLAIMS TO SALVADORAN TERRITORY. IT WAS NOT THAT SALVADOR WAS INTERESTED IN REOPENING CLAIMS TO OTHER PARTS OF THE BOUNDARY WHICH THEIR NEGOTIATORS HAD TENTATIVELY SETTLED ON PRIOR OCCASIONS; BUT THAT IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION THAT THE BORDER BE TREATED AS A PACKAGE RATHER THAN IN BITS AND PIECES. BORGONOVO ADDED THAT THE REMAINDER OF THE COMMUNIQUE PROVIDED STEPS FOR RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, AND THE GRADUAL OPENING OF THE PAN AMERICAN HIGHWAY TO SALVADORAN GOODS AND TRAFFIC ALONG THE LINES DESCRIBED IN MANAGUA 2061.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 SAN SALVADOR 2192

LIMDIS

6. WHEN SOMOZA TOLD THE SALVADORANS MAY 27 THAT HONDURAS HAD REJECTED THE DRAFT, THE GOES DECIDED IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO POSTPONE THE MEETING. SOMOZA WAS SO INFORMED AND HE IN TURN INFORMED THE OTHER THREE. BORGONOV THEREAFTER WENT TO NICARAGUA AT SOMOZA'S REQUEST ON MAY 27 TO DRAFT WITH FONMIN BATRES A COMMUNIQUE TO BE ISSUED BY THE GON ANNOUNCING THE POSTPONEMENT. THIS WOULD

STATE SIMPLY THAT THE FIVE COUNTRIES HAD DECIDED THAT ADDITIONAL PREPARATORY WORK WAS NEEDED; IT WOULD BLAME NO ONE FOR THE POSTPONEMENT. THEREFORE, BORGONOVO WAS SHOCKED WHEN HE FOUND THAT NIGHT THAT PRESIDENT MOLINA'S INFORMATION OFFICE HAD RELEASED ITS OWN STATEMENT THAT SALVADOR HAD REQUESTED THE SUMMIT POSTPONEMENT. HE AND BATRES PREPARED THE COMMUNIQUE SUBSEQUENTLY ISSUED IN MANAGUA AND THE TWO AGREED TO STAY IN TOUCH ON FUTURE PREPARATORY WORK. BORGONOV THEN VISITED COSTA RICA ON MAY 28 TO EXPLAIN TO ODUBER THE SALVADORAN POSITION; HE FOUND ODUBER DISAPPOINTED BUT UNDERSTANDING. (BORGONVO CHARACTERIZES THE SUBSEQUENT SOMOZA/ODUBER "ULTIMATUM" ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR CENTRAL AMERICANISM A FACE SAVING DEVICE TO COVER UP THEIR PERSONAL EMBARRASSMENT ABOUT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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POSTPONEMENT RATHER THAN A MEANINGFUL THREAT TO CA UNITY.)

7. FOR THE FUTURE, BORGONOVO SAID HE WILL PERSONALLY UNDERTAKE A TECHNICAL STUDY OF THE BORDER DOCUMENTATION (MAPS, LAND TITLES, ETC.) IN ORDER TO DEVELOP A CLEARER PICTURE OF WHAT IS AT STAKE AND IN AN EFFORT TO FIND NEW FORMULAS TO THE BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT THAT MIGHT BE ACCEPTABLE TO HONDURAS. (HALF IN JEST, HE SAID WHEN HIS STUDY IS COMPLETE, HE WOULD LIKE TO CONSULT WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER FOR TWO OR THREE HOURS AND DRAW UPON HIS ADVICE IN VIEW OF HIS SPECIAL EXPERTISE IN DISPUTE SETTLEMENT.) IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION, HE SAID THAT SALVADOR HAS NO INTENTION OF PRESENTING ULTIMATUMS IN THE HLC OR ELSEWHERE FOR A FOUR COUNTRY CACM NOR DOES IT INTEND TO IMPOSE A TRANSIT TAX ON NEUTRAL THREE GOODS AS A RESULT OF THE SUMMIT POSTPONEMENT. IN FACT, HE WAS SURPRISED TO FIND THAT DOMESTIC REACTION TO SALVADOR'S REQUEST FOR POSTPONEMENT OF THE MEETING HAS BEEN VERY FAVORABLE ESPECIALLY WITHIN THE MILITARY. HE ADDED THAT WHILE IT'S INTERNATIONAL

IMAGE MAY HAVE SUFFERED SOMEWHAT, EL SALVADOR, LIKE THE REST OF CA, IS FAR MORE INTERESTED IN ITS DOMESTIC CONSTITUENTS THAT IN ITS INTERNATIONAL AUDIENCE. IN SUM, BORGONVO FEELS THAT LITTLE HAS CHANGED ON THE HONDURAN ISSUE, FOR BETTER OR FOR WORSE, SINCE THE MEXICO TALKS; NO PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE NOR DOES THAT SUMMIT POSTPONEMENT REPRESENT A REAL SETBACK. THE BORDER SITUATION IS RELATIVELY STABLE, HE ATTRIBUTES SHOOTING INCIDENTS LARGELY TO SMUGGLERS WHILE THE MILITARY OF THE TWO COUNTRIES REMAIN IN FRIENDLY CONTACT. ANY FUTURE PRESIDENTIAL SUMMIT (BORGONOVO IS ESSENTIALLY SUSPICIOUS OF SUCH MEETINGS SINCE HE CONSIDERS THE CHIEFS OF STATE INSUFFICIENTLY FAMILIAR WITH THE DETAILS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS) WILL DEPEND ON THE ABILITY OF THE TWO SIDES TO DEVELOP AGREED POSITIONS IN ADVANCE. HE SUGGESTED NO SPECIFIC DATE FOR A NEW PRESIDENTIAL CONFERENCE AND ASSERTED THAT IN ANY CASE, IT SHOULD BE HELD WITH A MINIMUM OF PUBLICITY; THE LIMELIGHT ONLY BUILDS DOMESTIC PRESSURES AND FORCES THE PARTICIPANTS TO HARDEN THEIR POSITIONS.

8. REGARDING ARBITRATION, BORGONOVO HELD THAT SALVADOR DOES NOT OPPOSE ARBITRATION PER SE BUT RATHER HONDURAS' INSISTENCE THAT THE JUDGEMENT BE BASED ON HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS. SOMEWHAT QUIXOTICALLY, HE SAID SALVADOR WOULD BE HAPPY TO ACCEPT ARBITRATION BASED ON A SURVEY OF PRESENT OCCUPANCY, I.E., WHICH COUNTRIES' CITIZENS
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LIVE WHERE. CONCERNING THE ROLE OF THE COMMITTEE OF SEVEN, BORGONOVO SAID THAT WHEN HE WAS IN MANAGUA WORKING THE FINAL COMMUNIQUE, SOMOZA TOLD SEVILLA SACASA THAT HE SHOULD PUSH THE OAS TO IMPOSE A SOLUTION. SEVILLA SACASA ATTEMPTED TO EXPLAIN THAT THIS WOULD BE COUNTERPRODUCTIVE, THAT IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DICTATE TO THE MEMBERS OF THE OAS, AND THAT THE PARTIES CONCERNED WOULD SIMPLY IGNORE IT. FINALLY, WE REITERATED TO BORGONOVO OUR KEEN INTEREST IN A SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEM SOONEST; HE THANKED US BUT MADE NO SPECIFIC REQUEST FOR OUR ASSISTANCE.

9. COMMENT: IT IS APPARENT FROM THE ABOVE THAT THERE ARE CERTAIN BASIC INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN THIS CONVERSATION AND THAT OF BETRAND, BOTH AS TO THE FACTS OF THE MATTER AND THE GOES POSITION ON ANY US ACTION IN THE DISPUTE. WE ARE ALSO AT A LOSS TO EXPLAIN WHO INSTRUCTED BETRAND TO TAKE THE POSITION HE DID. BORGONOVO RETURNED TO SALVADOR LATE MAY 28 OR EARLY MAY 29, THE DAY THE MEETING IN THE DEPARTMENT TOOK PLACE, AND WAS NOT IN HIS OFFICE WHEN WE REPEATEDLY TRIED TO REACH HIM THAT DAY. ALSO, SUB-SECRETARY CASTANEDA, IN ALL LIKELIHOOD THE ONLY OTHER FONOFF OFFICIAL WITH AUTHORITY TO ISSUE SUCH INSTRUCTIONS, IS STILL IN THE US ON A LEADER GRANT. WE REITERATE OUR PUZZLEMENT OVER BETRAND'S ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION AND HIS REQUEST FOR THE DEPARTMENT'S ACTION AND WILL ENDEAVOR UNDER APPROPRIATE CIRCUMSTANCES TO CLARIFY THIS WITH BORGONOVO.
CAMPBELL

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